

Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN NODS-00

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT IMMEDIATE

USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 011085 TOSEC 010005

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE FOR DR BRZEZINSKI ONLY

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 0705 ACTION STATE JAN 16.

QUOTE S E C R E T TEL AVIV 705

NODIS

DEPT PASS USDEL SECRETARY'S AIRCRAFT; PASS WHITE HOUSE;
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM LEWIS

E. O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PGOV EG IS US

SUBJ: DAYAN ON SETTLEMENTS IN OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

1. IN THE COURSE OF MY MEETING WITH DAYAN ON JANUARY 13,
HE SOMEWHAT GINGERLY RAISED THE ISSUE OF SETTLEMENTS IN
AN APPARENT EFFORT TO CLARIFY THE RECORD FURTHER ABOUT
HIS ASSURANCES IN WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT. (PREVIOUS
EXCHANGES WITH BEGIN ON THIS TOPIC TOOK PLACE WHILE

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DAYAN WAS OUT OF THE COUNTRY. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE
TWO OF THEM HAVE DISCUSSED THIS "MISUNDERSTANDING"
EXTENSIVELY SINCE DAYAN'S RETURN FROM ITALY.) HE MAY
RAISE THIS WITH YOU IN CAR EN ROUTE TO JERUSALEM, SO
WANTED TO MAKE SURE YOU WERE BRIEFED.

2. DAYAN STRESSED THAT HE HAD NO QUARREL WITH THE

ACCURACY OF THE EXCERPTS FROM OUR TRANSCRIPT IN THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER WITH RESPECT TO THE PLAN FOR ESTABLISHING NEW SETTLEMENTS IN MILITARY CAMPS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT THE GOI WOULD RESTRICT NEW SETTLERS TO MILITARY CAMPS. HE SAID THAT HE HAD EMPHASIZED THAT ONLY SIX ADDITIONAL SETTLEMENTS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN THE VERY NEAR FUTURE, AND THAT "WE WOULD NOT TURN THEM INTO CIVILIAN CAMPS FOR ABOUT A YEAR." HE SAID HE WAS SURE THIS WAS HOW THE "FOR A YEAR" PHRASE WAS USED.

3. IN REFERRING TO THE MOST RECENT GOI DECISION TO ESTABLISH FOUR NEW SETTLEMENTS IN MILITARY ENCAMPMENTS, HE SAID "IT IS JUST AS I TOLD THE PRESIDENT...WE ARE KEEPING OUR WORD ON THIS," HE ALSO CITED THE CABINET DECISION TWO WEEKS AGO NOT TO ESTABLISH ANY ADDITIONAL NEW SETTLEMENTS IN THE SINAI AS FURTHER EVIDENCE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION TO KEEP ITS COMMITMENT.

4. IN SPECULATING ABOUT THE MUDDLE RELATING TO WHETHER HIS ASSURANCES OVER NEW SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY HAD BEEN INTENDED TO COVER A PERIOD OF A YEAR OR ONLY THROUGH THE END OF 1977, DAYAN OFFERED THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL EXPLANATION. HE SAID AT THE TIME OF THE CONVERSATION HE HAD "NOT BEEN THINKING OF JANUARY OR ANY OTHER MONTH" AS A CUT OFF DATE FOR HIS ASSURANCES. BUT HE REMINDED
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ME THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD KEPT REPEATING THAT HE HOPED GENEVA WOULD BE CONVENED BY THE END OF THE YEAR. IT WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF HIS EFFORTS TO REASSURE THE PRESIDENT THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT UNDERTAKE ANY NEW CIVILIAN RPT CIVILIAN SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY DURING THE PRE-GENEVA PERIOD THAT DAYAN THOUGHT THE CONFUSION HAD BEEN CREATED.

5. I BRACED HIM HEAD ON BY ASKING WHY IT HAD BEEN NECESSARY TO ANNOUNCE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ANY NEW SETTLEMENTS AT SUCH A DELICATE MOMENT. DAYAN ANSWERED BY RECALLING THAT ONE OF THE PRINCIPLE ELEMENTS OF THE ISRAELI SELF-RULE PLAN PERMITS CONTINUED SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY IN THE WEST BANK. IT REMAINS ISRAELI POLICY, HE SAID, TO ESTABLISH NEW SETTLEMENTS THERE--THOUGH NOT IN SINAI. HE ALSO CITED DOMESTIC CONSTRAINTS AS AN ADDITIONAL FACTOR. HE REFERRED TO WHAT HE CHARACTERIZED AS A "REAL CHANGE" IN THE MOOD OF THE POPULATION AND CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE KNESSET (HE CITED KATZ AND SHARON AS EXAMPLES), BROUGHT ABOUT BY A CONVICTION THAT BEGIN HAS GONE TOO FAR TOO FAST IN MAKING CONCESSIONS. HE POINTED OUT THAT HE HAD VOTED FOR THE NEW SETTLEMENTS

HIMSELF, AND EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT SETTLEMENTS SHOULD NOT MATTER SO LONG AS NO LAND IS EXPROPRIATED AND MILITARY CAMPS ARE CHOSEN AS SITES.

6. I ASKED IF HE HAD ANY IDEA WHAT THE EFFECT WAS ON THE EGYPTIAN LEADERSHIP RESULTING FROM THE CONSTANT HARPING BY ISRAEL RADIO ON ISRAELI SETTLEMENT ACTIVITY IN THE RAFAH AREA. THE REPORTS WERE CONFUSING AND EXAGGERATED AND WERE COMPOUNDING ISRAEL'S NEGOTIATING PROBLEMS. THE EGYPTIANS SIMPLY COULD NOT UNDERSTAND WHAT WAS GOING ON. DAYAN NODDED IN SILENT UNDERSTANDING AND RATHER FEEBLY OBSERVED THAT HE HAD TRIED TO HELP THE SITUATION BY HIS COMMENTS WHILE IN ITALY. I TOLD HIM THAT WE HAD APPRECIATED HIS ROMAN EFFORTS, BUT
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I REMINDED HIM THAT THE EGYPTIANS HAD HEARD MORE CLEARLY BEGIN'S REMARKS BEFORE THE HERUT CENTRAL COMMITTEE LAST WEEKEND. I URGED THAT A CEASEFIRE PROMPTLY BE INVOKED CONCERNING SETTLEMENT TALKS, TO WHICH DAYAN AGAIN NODDED ASSENT, ALBEIT SOMEWHAT UNCOMFORTABLY.

7. COMMENT: AS I HAVE SIGNED YOU SEVERAL TIMES IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, THIS ISSUE KEEPS RUBBING AGAINST A VERY SENSITIVE AREA OF THE BEGIN-DAYAN POLITICAL ANATOMY. I AM CERTAIN DURING YOUR FORTHCOMING VISIT YOU WILL ALTERNATELY BE EXPOSED TO SOUNDS OF EMBARRASSMENT FROM DAYAN AND MORTIFIED SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS FROM BEGIN ABOUT THIS SUBJECT. AT THIS POINT I CAN OFFER NOTHING FURTHER SAVE SYMPATHY FOR YOU. LEWIS UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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